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THE USES OF *BAW*- IN PARTHIAN

RÉSUMÉ

Les usages variés de *baw*- dans les fragments publiés de Tourfan sont ici présentés et classés. L'auteur y étudie la relation entre *baw*- 'devenir, être' et *ah*- 'être'. Des exemples illustrent les combinaisons de *būd* avec des verbes auxiliaires ainsi que celles de *baw*- avec des adjectifs, adverbes, substantifs et participes passés. Enfin, l'auteur discute le contraste entre des formes du passé composé avec *kar*- 'faire' (mode potentiel) et avec *baw*-, puis s'attache à des questions de séquence des temps.

Mots-clés : Moyen iranien manichéen occidental ; langue parthe ; syntaxe ; linguistique.

ABSTRACT

The various uses of *baw*- in the published Parthian material from the Turfan Collection are presented and sorted. The relationship between *baw*- 'to become, be' and *ah*- 'to be' is studied. Combinations of *būd* with auxiliary verbs, combinations of *baw*- with adjectives, adverbs, substantives and perfect participles are illustrated with examples. The contrast between perfect participles + *kar*- 'to do' ('potentialis') and those with *baw*- and questions about the sequence of tempora are discussed.

Key-words : Manichaean Western Middle Iranian ; Parthian ; syntax ; linguistics

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In this paper, which I have the pleasure of presenting to you, I will deal with the uses of the verb *baw*- in Parthian on the basis of the corpus of Parthian texts in the Turfan Collection, the largest collection of Parthian material available. I will use in the main published material. The other sources of Parthian, in particular the Parthian versions of the tri- and bi-

lingual inscriptions of the early Sasanid kings and the more or less Parthian text in the Zoroastrian scribal tradition, the *Draxt ī asūrīg*, will be neglected here. Beyond the scattered remarks of Ghilain 1939, 115f., 117-19, Rastorgueva/ Molčanova 1981, 221f., 225 und Sundermann 1989, 128f. the various uses of *baw-* in Parthian have not been systematically examined. The examples given below are numbered for ease of reference and are marked with • for Parthian.

1. DISTRIBUTION OF FORMS

The distribution of the various forms of the verb *baw-* in Parthian with the number of attestations for each form is displayed in the following table. For comparison the same information about *baw-* in Middle Persian is also given. Forms not attested in the Turfan fragments are marked with a question mark. The number of attestations covers the published material and a small number of unpublished texts ; the precise number is in any case not so important, it is the relative distribution that is interesting. The large number of attestations for certain forms reflect the general character of the texts as accounts in the third person (*bawēd*, *bawēnd* and *būd*) or hymns addressing or praising someone (conj. 2nd sg. *bawā(h)*). The conj. 3rd sg. *bawā(h)* is to be found in final clauses.

		paT form	paT spelling	nr.	mpT form	mpT spelling	nr.
Indic.	Sg. 1.	<i>bawām*</i>	<i>bw'm</i>	1	?		
	2	?			<i>bawē(h)</i>	<i>bwyy</i> , <i>bwyl</i>	5
	3	<i>bawēd</i>	<i>bw(y)d</i>	71	<i>bawēd</i>	<i>bw(y)d</i>	75
	Pl. 1.	<i>bawām*</i>	<i>bw'm</i>	16	<i>bawēm</i>	<i>bwym</i>	1
	2	<i>bawēd</i>	<i>bwyd</i>	8	?		
	3	<i>bawēnd</i>	<i>bwynd</i>	80	<i>bawēnd</i>	<i>bwynd</i>	40
Conj.	Sg. 1.	<i>bawān</i>	<i>bw'n</i>	5	<i>bawān</i>	<i>bw'n</i>	5
	2	<i>bawā(h)</i>	<i>bw'(h)</i>	38	<i>bawāy</i>	<i>bw'y</i>	2
	3	<i>bawā(h)</i>	<i>bw'(h)</i>	37	<i>bawād</i> , <i>bād</i>	<i>bw'('d)</i> , <i>b'd</i>	55, 3
	Pl. 1.	<i>bawām*</i>	<i>bw''m</i>	1	<i>bawām</i>	<i>bw'm</i>	7
	2	?			<i>bawād</i>	<i>bw'd</i>	4
	3	?			<i>bawānd</i> , <i>bānd</i>	<i>bw'nd</i> , <i>b'nd</i>	311

Opt.	Opt.	<i>bawēndē(h)</i>	<i>bwyndyh</i>	14	<i>bē(h)</i>	<i>byh, byy</i>	37
Imp.	Sg.	?			<i>bāš</i>	<i>b'š</i>	14
	Pl.	<i>bawēd</i>	<i>bwyd</i>	12	<i>bawēd</i>	<i>bwy(y)d</i>	12
nom.	PPr	?			<i>bawān</i>	<i>bw'n</i>	4
		<i>bawandag</i>	<i>bwndg</i>	1	<i>bawandag</i>	<i>bwndg</i>	1
	PPI	<i>būd</i>	<i>bwd, bwł</i>	232	<i>būd</i>	<i>bwd</i>	181
		<i>būdāg</i>	<i>bwdg</i>	1	<i>būdāg</i>	<i>bwdg</i>	1
	Infin.	<i>būdan</i>	<i>bwdn</i>	3	<i>būdan</i>	<i>bwdn</i>	9

* *bawām* in Parthian can be the indic. 1st sg., 1st pl. or the conj. 1st pl. A decision on each case is not always possible.

2. BASIC MEANING AND FORM OF *baw-*

The first question concerns the precise meaning of *baw-*.

2.1. Does *baw-* mean 'to be' or 'to become'?

Most attestations of *baw-* show the verb in the meaning 'to become'. Many of these can be translated by the future. The examples given below with the numbers 2, 4, 9, 32, 43 and 16, 26, 30 show this.

But sometimes *baw-* is simply 'to be' and supplements the 'normal' verb 'to be' *ah-*. This is particularly clear in the examples with the numbers 1, 11-14 and 20-25 given below.

2.2. *baw-* is suppletive to *ah-*

Baw- supplies forms missing in the paradigm of *ah-*. This is certainly the case in the imperative where the pl. *bawēd* supplies a form not occurring in *ah-*. The imperative sg. is not attested for either verb. *Baw-* also supplies the conjunctive. In the 3rd sg. conjunctive, in the optative and in the imperfect (at least to a certain extent with the PP *būd*¹) there is an overlapping of forms. I do not assume an overlapping of forms in the indicative because of the different meanings of *ah-* and *baw-*.

¹ Pointed out by Gershevitch 1975, 204.

	Conj.		Imper.		Opt.		Imperf. vs. PP	
Sg. 1.		<i>bawān</i>						
2		<i>bawā(h)</i>		?				
3	<i>ahād</i>	<i>bawā(h)</i>			<i>ahēnd- ē(h)</i>	<i>baw- ēndē(h)</i>	<i>ahāz</i>	<i>būd</i>
Pl. 1.		<i>bawām</i>						
2		?		<i>bawēd</i>				
3		?						

Though the Parthian verb *ah-* has a form in the past tense — the imperfect *ahāz* — this is seldom used. Skjærvø 1997, 180-83 showed that *ahād* cannot be regarded as a past tense form of *ah-*; rather it is consistently and only the conjunctive. Instead of the past tense of *ah-* we find *būd*, the PP of *baw-*.

2.3. Combination of *būd* with the copula

As with the PP of other verbs *būd* can be combined with the copula. Since *būd* itself can be combined with a PP this case produces a chain: PP + *būd* + copula.

Forms of the copula occurring immediately after *būd* are (with the frequency):

Indic. Sg.			Pl.		Impf. Sg.		
1	<i>hēm</i>	5	<i>hēmād</i>	2	3	<i>axāz</i>	1
2	<i>ay</i>	13	<i>hēd</i>	3	Opt. Sg.		
3	Ø	90+	<i>ahēnd</i>	25	3	<i>ahēndē</i>	1

The copula in the indicative third person singular *ast* never occurs after *būd*, but by comparison with *ahēnd* and the other forms of the copula it is clear that *būd* without the copula is equivalent to *būd + ast* where *ast* = Ø. In this table no distinction is made between *būd* following a PP and *būd* otherwise.

Quite a few attestations of *būd* are in fragmentary sentences where the presence or absence of a form of the copula cannot be established.

Particularly seldom are *axāz* (only ² KPT 1191 with a Sogdian <x>) and *ahēndē* (only in M5815 (121)):

axāz

- 1 • ... *kū ahremen ud dēwān parxāšt būd axāz pad panj magādagān, ud ēw aš bid žafrestar būd ahēnd* ³.
 "... where Ahremen and the Dēws were living/staying in the five hells, and one was deeper than the other".

ahēndē

- 2 • *ud ōh zānāh : kū kaš tō wxad ēd andar mary ahēndēh, nē parmāyām : kū awāyōn tō frihīft ud arāwīft pad mary paydāg būd ahēndē, čawāyōn kaš awās* ⁴.
 "And you should know, that if you yourself were (= had been) here in Marg I do not believe that your love and respect (= the love and respect for you) would have become so clear in Marg as now!".

2.3.1. Note : *būd* + *išt-*

Very rarely are other auxiliary verbs to be found instead of the copula. Only once does *būd* occur with the auxiliary verb *išt-*:

- 3 • *pad hō žamān, kaš ... ud panj kārwan ahramenagān s[...] pad rōšn grift [būd] ištēnd, čawāyōn magas pad [angubēn]* ⁵.
 "At that time, when ... and the five ahramen-like armies ... were held fast by the light like a fly by honey, ...".

The auxiliary *ištēnd* denotes the fact that the action *grift*, marked as past tense by *būd*, resulted in an enduring state.

3. *baw-* IN COMBINATION WITH VARIOUS WORD CATEGORIES

Baw- can be combined with an adjective, an adverb/preposition, a substantive or with a PP.

3.1. *baw-* in combination with an adjective

Baw- is used to combine a subject with a predicate adjective. The adjective is immediately before the verb, only a negation can stand between the adjective and the verb.

² Unless the word order *būd ahāz* in M741/16b/ belongs together and is not to be divided into ... *būd. Ahāz* ... The position of *ahāz* at the beginning of a sentence is unusual but in this verse text not impossible.

³ KPT (1190-94): ... *kw 'hrmyyn 'wt / [dyw'](n) p(rx')št bwd 'x'(z) / pd pnj (m)[gl][dg]n 'wd 'y(w) / 'c by)d(jfr)ystr bwt / [']hynd* ^{oo}.

⁴ M5815 (116-122) (Andreas/Henning 1934, 857f.): *'wd 'wh / z'n'h kw kd tw wxd 'yd / 'ndr mrg 'hyndyyh ° ny / prm'y'm kw 'w'gwn / tw frhyft w: 'rg'wyft pd / mrg pyd'g bwd 'hyndyy / cw'gwn kd 'w's* ^{oo}.

⁵ LN §2: *pd hw j[m'n] kd / (')wt pnj q['rw'n 'jhrmyng'n (s)[{1-3} pd] / rwšn gry(ft)[bwd](°)štynd cw['gwn] / mgs pt['ngwbyn]* ^{oo}—^{oo} /

The commonest adjectives are *dru(wi)št*, *šād*, *paydāg* and *āgas* but a wide range is attested.

Examples :

- 4 • *pad tō āfrīwan purr būd hēmād*⁶.
“We have become full with your praise”.
- 5 • *pad pañ magādagān, ud ēw aš bid žafrestar būd ahēnd*⁷.
“... in the five hells, and one was deeper than the other”.
- 6 • *u-š kirbakkar wāxt : kū hrē dibīrīft ahēnd, kē aš harwīn hasestar būd ahēnd : hindūgānag, sūrīg, yawnīg*⁸.
“And the Beneficent One said to him : ‘There are three scripts that are the earliest of all (lit. that have become earlier/older than all) : the Indian, the Syrian, the Greek’”.
- 7 • *adyān žan ēw, kē šābuhr šāh abesrōgān masišt būd, padīž hō angad*⁹.
“Then a woman who was King Šābuhr’s chief singer came up to him” (lit. “who was the greatest of the singers”).
- 8 • *kū čē wasnād dru(wi)št nē būd*¹⁰ ?
“Why was he not healthy ?”.

The combination of an adjective with *baw-* forms, as a rule, a verb that does not otherwise exist :

- 9 • *ud *mayōnag būd ud murd*¹¹.
“and he became unconscious and died”.

Since there is no other way of denominalising **mayōnag* the periphrastic expression **mayōnag būd* is basically equivalent to the PP *murd*. Nevertheless there may be a difference in the sense of a progression ‘became unconscious’ as opposed to the simple ‘died’. We will discuss this further when looking at PPs combined with *baw-*, but it must be pointed out here that there is no alternative to *būd* in the context of the above quote.

In verse texts the adjective can also follow the verb :

- 10 • *ō harw kēž būd ay nāmgen. //*¹²
“You were/became known to all”.

⁶ M71/V/3-4/ (unpublished) : *pd tw / ʔf(ryw)n ° p(w)r bwd hym(°)d °*.

⁷ KPT (1192-94) : *pd pnj (m)[glʔ][dgʔ]n ʔwd ʔy(w) / ʔ(c by)d j(fr)ystr bwʔ / [ʔ]hynd °°*.

⁸ MKG (1320-24) : *° [ʔ]wš qyrbkr / wʔxt k(w h)ry dbyryf[t] / ʔhynd ky ʔc hrwy(n) / [h](s)ystr (bwd) ʔhynd ° / [h]yndwg(°)g (swry)g ywny(g) / with Sundermann’s translation : “Und der Wohltäter sprach zu ihm : ‘Drei Schriften sind es, die früher als alle da waren, die indische, syrische <und> griechische’.”*

⁹ MKG (708-11) : *° ʔdyʔn jn ʔyw ky / šʔbwhr šʔh ʔbysrwg[<ʔ>n] / msyšt bwd pdyc h(w) / ʔ(ng)d °°*.

¹⁰ MKG (1210-11) : *kw cy / wsnʔd drwšt ny bwʔ ° /*

¹¹ MKG (1119) : *ʔw(d mgwng) bwd ʔwd mwrd /*

¹² M6 (90-92) (Andreas/Henning 1934, 867) : *ʔw hrw / qyc bwd ʔyy / nʔmgyn °*.

3.2. *baw-* in combination with an adverb or preposition

There are a few rare cases of *baw-* in combination with an adverb or preposition/postposition :

- 11 • *ud frāgēn pad dōšambat ēd nazd bawēd* ¹³ !
 “And early on Monday be near here !”
- 12 • *yazadān harwīn būd handēmān ō tō wispuhr, šahrōār zādag* ¹⁴.
 “All the gods were before you, prince, son of the ruler”.

3.3. *baw-* in combination with a substantive

In combination with a substantive *baw-* is used as an expression of existence. In a genitive or dative construction *baw-* expresses possession. In the possessive construction the distribution of the tenses of *baw-* is particularly clear : *Baw-* is here only used in the future (and conjunctive) and the past ; in the present *ah-* is used.

3.3.1. Expression of existence

- 13 • *u-š kirkakkar wāxt : kū niyōšāgčān ēw amwast būd*. ¹⁵
 “The Beneficent One said to him : “There was a (female) Listener, a believer”.

3.3.1.1. Location

Būd can also designate a location :

- 14 • *adyān kaš kirkakkar bidīg yāwar andar Rēw-Ardaxšīhr šahrestān būd*,
 ... ¹⁶.
 “Then, when the Beneficent One was for a second time in the city of Rēw-Ardaxšīhr, ...”.

3.3.2. A sub-class of sentences of existence is the expression of possession.
 With a genitive (or dative) a possessive construction is formed.

3.3.2.1. present

- 15 • *u-š ast puhrān wīst hazār* ¹⁷.
 “And he has 20,000 sons”.

¹³ MKG (1106-7) : ʾwd frʾgyyn / pd dwšmbt ʾyd nzd b(wyd) /

¹⁴ M10/V/7-8/ (Waldschmidt/Lentz 1926, 126) : °° yzdʾn hrwyn bwd / hndymʾn ʾw tw
 wyspwhr šhrdʾr / zʾdg °°.

¹⁵ MKG (721-3) : ° ʾwš / (qyrbkr) wʾx(t k)w ngwšʾg:cn / ʾyw ʾmwst bwī °.

¹⁶ MKG (665-7) : ° ʾdyʾn kd / qyrbkr bdyg yʾwr (ʾ)[n](dr) / rywʾr<d>xšyhr š(hry)stʾn
 bwd /.

¹⁷ M1202/V/3/ (Henning 1947, 50) : ʾwš ʾ(s)[t pwhrʾn] wys(t) hzʾr. The conjecture is
 secure on the basis of parallel sentences in the same text.

3.3.2.2. future

- 16 • *ud čawand pāḥ čē tō padīž ō amāh āsāh, awend apun ud āstār ō amāh bawēd*¹⁸.
 “And as many steps as you will come in our direction, so much non-virtue and sin will accrue to us” (= we will have so much ...).
- 17 • *ud mā bawāh āwaržōg abar kadag dižwārīft, //*¹⁹
 “Let there be no desire for the house of affliction, ...” (Boyce).
- 18 • *u-š aḥ any padīžag zambag ud āyōzag nē bawāh*²⁰.
 “... and that he may have no struggle and strife with anyone”.

3.3.2.3. past

- 19 • *abyād-om būd ō rōž izgāmīg*²¹.
 “I had a memory for/of the departure day”.

For further examples in the past tense, see below numbers 22-25.

3.3.3. Note : contrast *būd* and *ahāz*

There is a small number of occurrences of *būd* and *ahāz* in similar or parallel sentences, all at the start of an account²².

In the following example a new episode is introduced by two sentences the first of which has *būd* and the second *ahāz*. The sentence with *būd* is possessive, the sentence with *ahāz* introduces a name :

- 20 • *bid šābuhr šāhān šāh brād būd, mēšūn xwadāy. ud mihršāh nām ahāz*²³.
 “Now Šābuhr the King of Kings had a brother, the Lord of Mēšūn. And (his) name was Mihršāh”.

The same distinction can be made in the next example : *ahāz* denotes existence and *būd* is here used in a possessive sentence except that the expected enclitic -š ‘his’ is missing.

- 21 • *ud frēštag ō tūrān šāh āzend wāxt : mard ēw ahāz, ud haft puhr būd*²⁴.
 “The Apostle told Tūrān-šāh a tale : ‘There was a man, and <he> had seven sons’”.

Sundermann translates literally : “Es war ein Mann, (und) es waren sieben Söhne”. On this use of *ahāz* see also Skjærvø 1997, 172f.²⁵.

¹⁸ M8286/I/V/2-5/ (Sundermann 1971, 103) : *’wd cwnd p’d / cy tw pdyč ’w ’m’h / ’s’h*
’wynd ’pwn w : / ’st’(r) ’w ’m’h bwyd /.

¹⁹ AR VII 3b : *’wd m’ bw’h ’wrjwg ° ’br kdg dyjw’ryft*.

²⁰ LN §102 : *’wš ’d ’ny / (pdyčg z)mbg w : (’)ywzg ny bw’h /*.

²¹ M4a/I/V/17-18/ (Boyce 1975, 161) : *’by’ dwm bwd / ’w rwc ’zg’m yg °°*.

²² Because the prior context to example no. 1 above is missing it is difficult to say if *ahāz* has a particular function there. In any case *ahāz* there is not used on its own but follows on two participles.

²³ MKG (1581-83) : *byd š’bwhr š’h’n š’h br’d / bwd (m)yšwn xwd’y w : myhr š’h / n’m*
(’)h’z °.

²⁴ MKG (81-84) : *° ’wI / fryštg ’w twr’n š’h / ’zynd w’xt °° mrd ’yw ’h’z / (’)(w)d hft*
pwhr bwd °°.

But despite the seemingly clear direct contrast between *būd* and *ahāz* there are sentences with *būd* denoting existence. An example was given above (13), here are some more :

- 22 • *mard niyōšāg būd* ²⁶.

"There was a man, a Listener".

Sundermann translates in the same way : "Es war ein Mann, ein Hörer, ...".

- 23 • *mard ēw wāyōg būd, kē was murjān ud dāmōādān grift ahēnd* ²⁷.

"There was a man, a hunter, who caught many birds and wild animals".

Sundermann : "es war ein Mann, ein Jäger, der viele Vögel und wilde Tiere fing".

However, a common feature of these sentences is that they always contain two terms in apposition. In some cases the figure introduced is further characterised by adjectives :

- 24 • *ōh wāžēnd : kū dēw ēw bazzakkar ud appar būd* ²⁸.

"They say there was a demon, evil and thievish".

Sundermann's translation avoids isolating the adjectives : "Man erzählt, daß <einst> ein böser und räuberischer Dämon war".

In the following case the mostly emended adjective actually seems to follow the verb :

- 25 • *mas wāxtag : kū mard ēw būd, is[kōh ...{?}]* ²⁹.

"Further it is said : 'There was a man, of low birth (?)'".

Colditz translates : "Weiter ist gesagt : Es war ein Mann (von geringer Herkunft)".

3.4. *baw-* in combination with a PP

A particular characteristic of the verb *baw-* is its use as an auxiliary verb directly following a PP. Just like other PPs *būd*, the PP of *baw-*, can in turn be followed by forms of the copula, giving a chain of three forms : PP + *būd* + copula.

²⁵ But Skjærvø's conjecture for the origin of this use of *ahāz* "in explanatory remarks and asides ('for this young man was really a prince') is a little weak, since in the example above *ahāz* introduces a whole tale. Watkins' reference given in Skjærvø 1997, 173 n. 25 to the use of Old Indian *hi* after a verb answering a question would seem to be the solution : *mard ēw ahāz* means 'There was (indeed) a man', cf. Hibernoenglish 'There was this man' introducing a story. The particle *hi* would indicate collusion 'yes', 'indeed', or 'you know'.

²⁶ MKG (238) : °° mr(d) ngwš'g bwd °° /.

²⁷ MKG (1899-1901) :](mrd) 'y(w) w'(ywg) b(w)[d] / (k)[y] ws (m)wrg'n ' (wd) d'(m)[d'd'n] / [g]ryft 'hynd °.

²⁸ KPT (1830-31) : 'wh w'cynd kw dyw 'yw b(zk)[r] (')wt 'pr / bwd °.

²⁹ Colditz 1987, line 161 : ms w(')xtg kw mrd 'yw bwd 's[kwh] ...{?}] /.

3.4.1. Meaning

The combination PP + *baw-* is essentially not different from the combination adjective + *baw-*: The PP is a predication which through the form of the word as a PP is characterised as past tense or as a completed action.

26 • *ud harwīn murd bawēnd* ³⁰.

"And they all will be dead".

The combination PP as a completed or past action and *baw-* as an expression of the future (i.e. *baw-* in the indic.) yields as the sum of its parts a future perfect: 'will have died' = 'will be dead'.

The combination PP + PP *būd* is accordingly a pluperfect. Sundermann 1989, 128 contrasts the preterite ³¹ *grift hēm* 'I was captured' and the pluperfect *grift būd (a)hēm* 'I had been captured', which he further terms the 'completed past' ('vollendete Vergangenheit') ³².

But beyond this the construction seems to be passive. Furthermore the periphrastic form fulfills certain functions in a sequence of tempora.

3.4.2. Passive

The combination PP + *baw-* can be equivalent to a passive construction.

27 • *ud mānhāg ahēnd tār-zādagān, čē pad dard ispud bawēnd, ud bid nē rōdēnd ...* ³³.

"And similar are the children of darkness that are scared off with pain and do not grow again, ...".

Ispud bawēnd could also be understood as a future and translated as: "that will be (will have been) scared off with pain and do/will not grow again, ...".

The following example for the common phrase *xrōšt baw-* shows complete parallelity to an adjective in the same construction:

28 • *ud būd ahēnd čawāyōn izdeh ud pašag pad hamag šahr, ud wiđeftag ud franašttag pad hāmāg šahr xrōšt būd ahēnd* ³⁴.

"And they became as exiles and enemies in the whole world, and they came to be called 'deceived' and 'destroyed' in the whole world".

Other examples of *xrōšt baw-* require a simple passive:

³⁰ KPT (1895-96): w: hrwyn / mwrđ bwynd °.

³¹ Which he, following Ghilain, terms 'preterite passive'. I prefer 'preterite' or simply 'past tense'. Since the construction is ergative I do not use the term 'passive' here.

³² *Grift hēm* occurs in M7 (219) (Andreas/Henning 1934, 875); *grift būd (a)hēm* is a reconstruction on the basis of *grift ud bast būd* in M2/I/127 (Andreas/Henning 1934, 853) and similar forms as quoted by Ghilain 1939, 118f. (and, following him closely, Rastorgueva/Molčanova 1981, 225).

³³ MKG (897-900): 'wī m'nh'(g) / 'hynd t'rz'dg'n (cy) / pd drđ 'spwd bw[ynd] / 'wī byd ny rwdynd.

³⁴ MKG (1157-61): w: bwd / 'hynd cw'gwn 'zdyh 'wd pšg pd hmg šhr 'wī / wdyftg w: fmšttag pd h'm'g / šhr xrwšt bwd 'hynd /.

- 29 • *bēž sardāg ud garmāg, kū wimēxsēd, sard ud garm xrōšt bawēd*³⁵.
 "But coldness and warmth, where/when they are mixed, are (lit. 'is') <still> called 'cold' and 'warm'".

Similarly :

- 30 • *u-šān *karmbag wišānād bawēd ō hō wyāg, kū niyābag*³⁶.
 "And their refuse will be scattered in the place where suitable".

In the following example the passive character is confirmed by the use of the preposition *pad* :

- 31 • *ud ham ō žirift čē pad frēstagān wifrāšt bawēd, isxandēnd, ud ō ardāwift iškārēnd*³⁷.

"And equally they laugh at the wisdom that is taught by the apostles and hunt the righteous".

Here a temporal sequence is imaginable, but the text does not seem to focus on this at all, rather *wifrāšt bawēd* and *isxandēnd* are contemporaneous.

3.4.3. Special cases : *baw-* and *kar-*

Kambist baw- 'to become lesser' is just one of many examples of periphrastic verbs formed with *baw-*. In these constructions *baw-* is used to form an intransitive compound verb ; if a transitive verb is needed, *kar-* is used.

An example for an adjective followed by *baw-* or *kar-* is in the following two verses from the same text :

- 32 • *ud harwīn wigānišn dūr būd ahēnd až man, / ...*
 "All ravages had become remote from me" (Boyce 1954).

and

*ud dūr karān ō tō až harw žaxm [ud dižwār]. //*³⁸
 "I will put you far from all wounds and hardship".

3.4.3.1. Combination of a PP with *kar-*

Combinations of a PP with *kar-* are rare. Apart from the first example, the construction with *kar-* seems to express a potentialis.

- 33 • *diđ karēd : kū-m āfrīwan henjāmād, ud ō išmāh ambōyād karān, ...*³⁹.
 "Look, complete my praise, and I will kiss you, ...".

³⁵ GW §45 : by(c sr)đ'g 'wd grm'g kw wmyxsyd ° srd (')[wd g](rm) xrwš(t) bw(y)[d °]

³⁶ MKG (1334-36) : 'wš'n qrmgb / wyš'n'd bwyd 'w) / (h)w wy'g kw ny'bg /

³⁷ MKG (1682-86) : ° 'wł / hm 'w jryft cy pt / fryštg'n wyfr'št bwyd / 'sxndynd ° w: 'w 'rd'wyft / 'škrynd °.

³⁸ AR VI 4a : 'wł hrwyn wyg'nyšn ° dwr bwł 'hynd 'ž mn und AR VI 32b : 'wd dwr kr'n 'w tw ° 'c hrw jx(m) [w : dyjw'r].

³⁹ MKG (1064-66) : (dyđ qr)yđ kw m 'w(fry)w(n) / h(ynj)'m'd w: 'w 'š(m'h) / ('mbw)y'(d) qr'n.

with *dīd karēd* and *ambōyād karān* instead of the expected *wēnēd* and *ambōyān*. In this text, which contains details about Mani's death, the speaker is probably Mani, so presumably the unusual construction is a reflection of the Semitic language he spoke (or of what passed for the same). A more forceful translation might be appropriate: "See to it that you complete my praise, and I will certainly kiss you, ...".

The following two examples were identified as containing a potentialis by Sundermann, who pointed out that a literal translation does not really make sense⁴⁰.

- 34 • ... *a]ž imīn panj īrān kaḡāž andar im zādmurd windād karēnd*⁴¹.

"They can find none of these five things ever in this rebirth" (lit. 'they make found').

- 35 • *ud ahremen pad hō rask burd : kū-š tāž až kirbag kirdagān frāmarg kird karān, ...*⁴².

"And Ahremen was jealous of her: 'If only I could make her negligent about good deeds!' ...".

In the following example the PP is almost entirely restored and in any case the explicit (but redundant?) verb *šah-* 'can' follows on *kird*:

- 36 • [*ud ag*] *ōh kū-š pid čē [pad] tanbār ast naḡn p[ox]t kird šahēndēh ...*⁴³.

"And [if it were] so that he could [bake] the flesh that is on his body into bread..." (Henning).

3.4.3.1.1. Potentialis with *baw-*?

The close parallelism in the use of *kar-* and *baw-* would seem to open the possibility for a potentialis with PP and *baw-*. But there are no certain examples.

In the translation of the following text Andreas/Henning 1934, 850 seem to see a potentialis:

- 37 • *bež hō zāwar rōšn, kē aḡ tār awāyōn āmexsēd, kū bid až hō wiwadād nē bawēd ...*⁴⁴.

"But that light-power, that is so mixed with darkness, that it cannot be separated from it again" (Andreas/Henning: "..., daß sie von ihr nicht wieder getrennt werden kann").

⁴⁰ See Sundermann 1981, 59 n. 9 and 1989, 129.

⁴¹ MKG (1754-56): [ʔ](c) 'y(myn pnj) / [ʔyʔ](ʔn) kd(ʔc) ʔndr ʔym zʔdmwrd / (wy)ndʔd krynd °.

⁴² MKG (723-26): ° ʔwʔ / (ʔ)hrmyn pʔ hw rsk bwrđ / q[w](š t)ʔc ʔc qyrbg / qyrd(g)[ʔn frʔm](r)g kyrd krʔn / °°.

⁴³ M6020/I/R/i/14-17/ (Henning 1965, 30): °° ʔ[wd ʔg{ʔ}] / ʔwh kwš pyd cy [pd] / tnbʔr ʔst ngn p[wxt] / kyrd šhyndyb.

⁴⁴ M2/II/16-19/ (Andreas/Henning 1934, 850): byc hw zʔwr rwšn ky / ʔd tʔr ʔwʔgwn ʔmyxsyd / kw byd ʔc hw wywdʔd / ny bwyd °°.

But the context does not demand such a translation; 'that it will not be(come) separated from it again' fits just as well.

Similarly :

- 38 • *kē-m bōžāh až imīn ud až harwīn widārāh /
kū xāzād nē bawān pad tang čē hawīn narah žafrān ?! //*⁴⁵

"Who will save me from these and take me beyond them all, so that I shall not be devoured in the distress of those hell-deeps?" (Boyce).

An interpretation of *kū xāzād nē bawān* as a dubitative potentialis ('so that I cannot/may not be devoured') is not impossible but has no real advantage over an analysis as future.

4. SEQUENCE OF TEMPORA

As noted above a PP + *baw-* in the indic. would seem to be a future perfect whereas a PP + *būd* would be a pluperfect. The precise use of the forms, though, depends on the context.

- 39 • *adyān kirbakkar ō zādagān wāxt : kū kaδ amward<ād> bawēd, ud bayānīg saxwan wiḫrāsēnd, āgām nibēg padḫursēnd, ...*⁴⁶.

"Then the Beneficent One said to (his) children : "Wenn you have gathered and they teach the godly word or they read the book, ...".

The protasis quoted here has three clauses, the first of which is the temporal precondition for the next two. This is expressed by a PP with *bawēd* instead of *amwardēd* which would be simply indic. expressing a future, as *wiḫrāsēnd* and *padḫursēnd* do.

- 40 • *paš pad rangas žamān hō pahragbān, kē aδ hō bastag būd, zēnčihīr až kirbakkar grīw bēh istad, ...*⁴⁷.

"Then for a short time the guard who had been bound to him took the chain from the neck of the Beneficent One".

The contrast *bastag būd* and *istad* is the contrast between pluperfect and past tense and between background and foreground action.

- 41 • *ud wišād būd ahēnd harwīn tār xānīg. /
[... mā]syāgān padγrift hēm pad tars. //*⁴⁸
"The wellsprings of Darkness had all been opened.
The [giant] fishes transfixed me with fear" (Boyce).

⁴⁵ H IVb 3ab : kym bwj^h ž 'ymyn ° ʔwt^h ž hrwyn wyd^rh / kw x²z²d ny bwⁿ pd tng °
cy hwyn nrh jfrⁿ /.

⁴⁶ MKG (1046-50) :]²(d)[y²](n) kyrbk(r) / ʔw z²dg[²n] (w)²(xt) kw kd mwr²(d) / bwyd
ʔ(w)[d] bg²nyg sxwn / wyfr²synd ʔg²m n(byg p)[d] / pwr²synd.

⁴⁷ MKG (1113-16) : p(š pd rngs) jm²n hw / phrgb²n ky ʔd hw bs(tg) / b[w](t z)yncyhr 'c
qyrb(k)r / g(ryw byh) 'std.

⁴⁸ AR I 15ab :]²w](d) wyš²d bwd ʔhynd ° hrwyn t²r x²nyg / [..... m²]sy²g²n ° pdgryft
hym pd trs /.

The following example seems to be resultative :

- 42 • *u-m zird andēšišn, kē wisp [...] čē [...],*
**wihird pad harwīn, ud niyust būd pad grīw. //*⁴⁹
 “And my heart’s ἐνθύμησις, which ,
 was shaken by it all, and concealed itself within the soul” (after Boyce) (lit.
 ‘came to be concealed’).

In the following example we have a sequence in an adversative sentence, an adjective + *būd* refers to a time prior to the present but set in relation to a timeless state :

- 43 • *až rōšn ud yazadān hēm, ud izdeh būd hēm až hawīn*⁵⁰.
 “I am from the Light and the gods (= I belong to the Light and the gods),
 but I have become an exile from (among) them”.

There are also cases where *būd* seems to be redundant :

- 44 • *frašud būd ay čawāyōn puhr. ud parxāšt ay čawāyōn ispasag. //*⁵¹
 “You were sent as a son, and you stayed as a servant”.

Though the first action is prior to the second the text does not seem to focus on this. *Būd* either marks a passive or is redundant. In the latter case this could be due to the fact that the text is a verse text or it could be a translator’s reflection of a verb like the Syriac copula and auxiliary (*h*)*wā* that is frequently redundant⁵².

3.4.1. Unusual change in tempus :

- 45 • *ud gyān čē-nām, čē gyān-iž nām ast, ud nē abē-nām būd*⁵³.
 “And of what name (is) the soul ? Because the soul, indeed, has a name.
 And it was not without a name”.

Perhaps *būd* should be translated here as ‘became’ : ‘And it did/has not become nameless’. For further possibilities see Sundermann 1997, 102 note 11,2.

- 46 • *ud pad dāhwān-iž, čē padγīrwēnd, būd ahēnd zēnī-xwārag, mihržad ud*
*pār-burd, ...*⁵⁴.

⁴⁹ AR Ib 2ab : ʾwm zyr(d) [ʾndyšy]šn ° ky wysp [...] cy (n)[.] / (w)hyrd pd h(rwy)n °
 ʾwd ngw[s](t) bw[d] p(d) gryw /.

⁵⁰ M7 (202-3) (Andreas/Henning 1934, 874) : ʾc rwšn w: yzdʾn / hym ʾwd ʾzdyh / bwd
 hym ʾž hwyn /. Cf. the similar sentence *az hēm šahrđārzādag ud izdeh būd hēm až*
wuzurgift “I am the son of a ruler, but I have become an exile from Greatness”.
 Müller 1904, 108 : “Ich bin ein Herrschersohn ... (und) ein Fremdling geworden
 (aus) der Großherrlichkeit”.

⁵¹ M680/V/12-14/ (Waldschmidt/Lentz 1926, 97) : fršwd bwd / ʾ(y)y ° cwʾgw(n) pwhr °
 ʾwd prxʾšt / ʾyy ° cwʾgwn ʾspsg °.

⁵² Compare also the seemingly redundant use of *kar-* in example 32 above.

⁵³ GW §11 : ° ʾwd gyʾn cy nʾm ° cy gyʾnyc nʾm ʾst ʾwd ny ʾby nʾm bwd ° /.

⁵⁴ GW §82 : ʾwd pd dʾh(wʾn)yc (c)y pdgyrwynd ° bwd (ʾh)ynd zyny(x)wʾrg myhrjd ʾwd
 pʾr bwrđ ° /.

"And also with regard to the gift which they receive, have they become embezzlers, contract breakers and debtors, ...".

Here the tenses of *padȳīrwēnd* and *būd ahēnd* are not put in direct sequence because the indicative is in a general relative clause describing an ongoing fact.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Baw-, meaning 'to become', has a wide range of uses. It supplements the verb *ah-* by supplying the future, but also other forms not or only sparsely present in the paradigm of *ah-*. Because of the very limited use of the imperfect *ahāz*, the PP *būd* is the only readily usable past tense form for both *baw-* and *ah-* with the result that *būd* does not automatically mean 'became', but also simply 'was'. A particular use of *baw-* with PP is the passive. The sequence of 'tempora' involving PPs with *būd* seems to follow context-sensitive rules and a PP + *būd* is therefore not automatically a pluperfect but occasionally resultative.

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- AR = *Angad Rōšnān*, in Boyce 1954
GW = Sundermann 1997
H = *Huyadagmān*, in Boyce 1954
KPT = Sundermann 1973
LN = Sundermann 1992
MKG = Sundermann 1981

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